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A REPUBLIC IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS.

IF we are a Christian people believing in destiny, we must regard the war of 1861-65 as pivotal in our national career. The preservation of the Union and the enforcement of the laws of the country made possible all of the marvellous changes that have been wrought among us since that time. Our population is now two-and-a-half times as great as it was then; we have increased our working power threefold, and have added three hundred per cent. to the nation's wealth; we have constructed 150,000 miles of new railroad, more than half of it in the region west of the Mississippi River, and we have formed six east-and-west transcontinental lines connecting with ocean steamships at both ends.

The rapid development of our industrial energies naturally increased our mechanical power greatly in excess of the country's needs, and correspondingly diminished the demand for labor, resulting in idleness, debt and doubt. Hence came the "army of the unemployed" and the exciting campaign of 1896. Fortunately, the unusually large foreign demand for our agricultural products in 1897 was accompanied by heavy crops and good prices at home, begetting hope, stimulating industry, and creating demand for labor. The large majority vote at the election indicated plainly the trend of public opinion on the money question, while the enormous increase in the output of the gold mines measurably at least, and for the time, supplied the demand for metallic money; business revived, trade began again to flow in its accustomed channels, money appeared to be plenty, and the country got on its feet again.

But this condition could not last long under the old *régime* without some outlet for the surplus of the things we have to spare. We should overflow again. Panics have been periodical.

The causes which brought dangers to our doors—dangers arising from lack of employment for the people—would bring them again if new channels of trade were not opened, new markets found for our growing commerce, and new employment procured to engage the brains and hands of our industrious and enterprising people.

Providentially, as it would seem, the war with Spain affords us opportunities of which we have but to avail ourselves in order to relieve the situation at home and improve conditions abroad. With Cuba on the way to independence under American escort, with Porto Rico controlled by American ideas and policies, and with the beginnings of a Philippine republic in charge of American builders, a new commercial tide will set in, carrying a reciprocal trade that will occupy much of the time and attention of our citizens and will to that extent relieve the strain on the working forces; it will solve the money problem to the satisfaction of those at least who demand the use of a metallic basis, for it will enlarge the use of gold and silver coin; it will suggest profitable uses for large amounts of money now idle and seeking opportunities for safe investment, and, what is better than all these, it will place and keep Americans in the lead planting republican institutions in the islands of the sea.

And we are well equipped for just such work as this. We are full with the vitalizing forces of a young and powerful people, with motive power far beyond our necessities, with production vastly in excess of home requirements, with narrow profit margins multiplying industrial combinations to maintain prices, with constantly increasing production of our gold mines and idle money accumulating in the public treasury and in private bank vaults, with much of our labor compulsorily idle all the time and demanding work, with our best lands all claimed under private ownership—with all this congested energy, backed as it is by men and women capable of leading great enterprises, persons specially qualified by training in their own country to sow the seeds of democracy and grow republics in darker portions of the earth—we are prepared to assume the responsibility.

In our moral and intellectual equipment for the work proposed we are, if possible, stronger and better prepared than in the particulars just recited. The improvement in the condition of our manumitted slaves and their descendants has been phenomenal. They have developed men of learning and character—

physicians, lawyers, preachers, priests and bishops. While the great body of them are employed chiefly in manual labor (which is true also of their white neighbors), there are among them many who are capable of discharging responsible duties in affairs of government. Their soldierly qualities were recognized in the War of the Rebellion, and they were severely tested in recent battles and campaigns. These docile people are even now prepared to furnish useful helpers in all the work which the nation has yet to do.

The Indian problem has been solved, and we shall have the red man's aid in the years to come. It is only sixty-four years since all of our national territory west of the Mississippi River, except Missouri and Arkansas, was set apart by act of Congress as the "Indian country," and no citizen of the United States was permitted to travel or trade there without written authority from the Government. Since 1860 nearly all this fruitful region has been carved into States. The "Indian country" has disappeared. The small remnant in Indian Territory is being allotted, and soon it will be all owned by individual persons. The five civilized tribes there have among them many men and women of education and refinement, some of them qualified for any of the ordinary work of legislation and government. The few remaining of the more savage tribes are located on reservations in States or Territories, where schools have been established for the education of their children, and at several places in the older States government schools of higher grade are conducted, where the best scholars from the reservations may continue and complete a special training to fit them for the more responsible duties of civilized life. The Indian has already proven himself capable of reaching a high level and of maintaining himself in trying positions. He, too, is ready to perform his part in the country's future.

Woman has come to be an important factor in all the work of the time. From a few of the widows and daughters of our citizen soldiers, employed as clerks in the Treasury Department at Washington during the earlier years of the sixties, the working sphere of woman has been so enlarged that she is now found in all the departments of the national and State governments; she assists in public offices in all our great cities, and there is not, probably, a mercantile house of importance in the country conducted without the aid of women. They have invaded the professions, they occupy chairs in some of our higher institutions of

learning, and they compose two-thirds of the teachers in the public schools. Women now manage the business affairs of large bodies composed wholly of their own sex—notably the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Woman's Relief Corps, the latter having a membership of upward of 145,000. Women do now lead in many of the reform movements of the day. In some of the States they are legal electors and hold public offices. As workers in the missionary field their zeal is none in advance of their fitness and capacity. Man's truest and safest counsellor is now ready to carry the lamp of Christian civilization forward, and aid in working out the troublesome experiments in the years ahead of us.

Still another and the most powerful factor in the situation is the unification of the country's citizenship. We were never one before the year 1898. We had tories among us, even at the end of our successful war for political independence. We were divided in the war of 1812; we were not united during the war with Mexico, and it required the raising and equipping of armies and fleets in 1861-5 and four years of desperate war to prevent a separation of eleven States from the Union. But the war of 1898 afforded opportunity to try the Americanism of the people. The official record of their conduct certifies to their unswerving loyalty. The prompt response of all classes—rich, poor, high, low, white, black, mulatto, red and yellow, male and female, from North, East, South and West, the "Johnny and the Yank," the plutocrat and populist—to the President's call for volunteers, testified to the universal patriotism of the citizens; and their blood, shed in actual battle on land and sea, dissolved the colors of blue and gray into red, white and blue in witness of the covenant that the people of these United States constitute a nation—one undivided, indivisible Union—with one flag and one destiny.

Here, then, in addition to the united forces of men usually considered in estimating a nation's strength, we have the children of the slave to help us in all we have to do; we have the educated Indian in our ranks, and we have beside us for inspiration and counsel the incomparable American woman—all together a mighty people with 15,000,000 men of military age capable of bearing arms, and quite as large a number of young persons enrolled in the public schools. When such a people enter new fields to reproduce their own wonderful history and duplicate their

own progressive institutions, surely the world's redeeming agencies will be strongly re-enforced.

In this condition of readiness for united action, we find ourselves suddenly face to face with new and grave conditions affecting our relations with other parts of the world, and we see plainly enough that our political horizon has been greatly enlarged. We have been forced into the world's arena by events occurring outside ourselves, and we must perform the leading part. There is no escape from this position. We have entered a new era in American politics, not from choice, but "in the course of human events."

It has been the way in all the ages of the past that when any people became cramped or thought themselves so, the bolder of them sought new regions to dwell in and thus opened a drain for the overflow. The history of all great countries, as far as it has been recorded, testifies to this fact—they were first settled, perhaps conquered, by emigrants from other parts, and commerce spread its civilizing influences in the wake of the settlers. The pioneer, the preacher, the trader, the merchant, the banker, the lawyer, statesman and soldier, builded modern Europe, and their children have made North America what it is. Australasia, India and South Africa show the rich handiwork of these conquering heroes. The history of civilization in England includes a record of principal movements everywhere else. Her colonies have developed into the highest forms of self-governing communities, one of them a republic whose name, like that of Abou Ben Adhem, leads all the rest.

If anything can be said to be established in the Father's business of improving the world, it is that the best communities, states and nations are bred from imported stock and improved by the infusion of new blood. To "replenish the earth and subdue it" requires that stronger and better men should "go out into all the world," and do and teach better things than had been done and taught there before. Blindly, it may be, but none the less certainly, in the long run, do men follow this law of progress. Proof of the great fact is everywhere so abundant that particular instances need not be cited. Barbarism passes out of sight as Christian settlement comes into view. The worse yields to the better in the final conflict. The weaker gives way to the stronger, through assimilation or decay. Obedience to this law of civiliza-

tion, though most frequently yielded ignorantly, becomes a duty when the obligation is recognized. Men are to a great extent their brothers' keepers and owe them a brotherly oversight. If this be not true, why is government necessary ?

It is the duty of this republic, now that opportunity is present, to enter the Philippines and grow a new nation there. It is no answer to this to say that there are yet untouched resources at home, enough work here at our doors to occupy the time and attention of our most competent leaders. No answer because, if for no other reason, we cannot undo what was done during the last year. A great war has been fought, and we find ourselves in military occupation of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine group. The latter we have to dispose of. We, therefore, are responsible for the kind of government which these islands have in the future and will accordingly be held accountable.

We are a Christian people, believing in the existence of an overruling Providence, who, in His own way and time, moves the world ahead. History, in that view of it, is a record of Jehovah's operations in developing human character and evangelizing the earth. "Nations and individuals," said a fervent clergyman recently, "are here by appointment;" and it is on that theory only that we dare believe the people of these United States have been trained for the work now in front of them. The Jews undertook to abolish idolatry, establish a belief in one God and the duty of obeying His law. "I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." The Greeks taught the world how to think and how to speak, and Romans led in government and law. Is it too much to add that to Anglo-Americans is given the work of spreading the Gospel of good will to men through commerce and Christianity, and thus carrying on the work of replenishing the earth and subduing it ? If not, then let us take and permanently hold all territory which has come into our possession, either actually or constructively, by reason of our war with Spain; hold it, not for ourselves, but for the people now there and such as may hereafter go there, to the end that the area of liberty may be to that extent enlarged and free government established throughout the earth.

It is objected that the proposed expansion policy is contrary to our own history and in conflict with the Monroe Doctrine. It is neither, and if it were both, the argument is without force. Applied generally, such a theory would prevent change and therefore stop growth. Our patent laws would be repealed, and inventors imprisoned. If a man was once satisfied with ten acres of land, he must never get more. Before we were fifteen years old we added more than a million square miles to our national area by the purchase of Louisiana—nearly all of which lay west of the Mississippi River, and this in the face of opposition by men who insisted that that stream was and ought to remain our western boundary. Afterward (1819) we acquired Florida, adding 59,268 square miles more, and by the annexation of Texas (1845), 376,133 additional square miles. From Mexico (1848-1853) we gained nearly a million (967,451) square miles, much the greater part of it being west of the Rocky Mountains, which range many positive objectors thought ought to be made our permanent western border. Including Alaska, our country now contains nearly four times the aggregate area of the original thirteen States, which is put at 827,844 square miles.

Our Government had been negotiating for the Sandwich Islands fifty years before they were annexed in 1898 under the name Hawaii. Cuba has been a point of interest to us for a long time. Its strategic importance was discussed by our statesmen in the early years of the century; the subject was again considered during the progress of the Spanish-American wars, and later, while John Quincy Adams was President. The Polk Administration was ready to buy the island outright, and President Pierce opened direct negotiations with that view. Our ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain (1854), Messrs. Buchanan, Mason and Soulé, who had been instructed to consider the subject, reported favorably in their famous "Ostend Manifesto." The Government of the United States would not at any time have permitted Cuba to pass from Spain to any nation, other than this, without a war. President Grant recommended the purchase of Santo Domingo. There has not been a time within a hundred years when we would not gladly have accepted any one of the principal islands of the West Indies that was ready to fall to us.

The Monroe Doctrine is not applicable in the present case. That doctrine was announced at a particular time (1823), under

peculiar circumstances, and for a particular purpose, all of which have long since passed away. Spain's South American provinces, Central America and Mexico, had all declared their independence of the mother country and had been duly acknowledged by the United States as independent nations. The "allied powers" of Europe were discussing a proposition to assist Spain in recovering her lost dependencies in the Western hemisphere, when Russia proposed to Great Britain and the United States an amicable adjustment of the boundary lines of territory in the northwest part of North America—territory in which all of these three countries were interested, and President Monroe availed himself of this circumstance to declare, in his formal message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1823, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," and "that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

That is the Monroe Doctrine; it is simply an official statement that the people of the United States will not allow any such interference with independent American nations by European powers as would amount to extending their "political system" in the Western hemisphere, or to "oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny." Summarized, the Monroe Doctrine is notice to European powers that, while they might keep and control what possessions they then had in North and South America, they must not further interfere in "this hemisphere." It has no relation to acquisitions of territory on our part or to its government, here or elsewhere, and the proposed expansion policy is wholly our own. We, and not they, are the actors in this case.

Nor does General Washington's advice about entangling alliances apply. And the suggestion that to expand our territory, as proposed, is in violation of the Constitution of the United States, is equally untenable. We are not proposing to interfere with the affairs of any foreign power, except only that one against which Congress unanimously declared war last April, and voted all the men, money and munitions necessary to prosecute the

war to a successful issue. Our war is with Spain only, and we are dealing with Spain in a region distant, across water, five hundred miles from the nearest dependency of any European power, and three thousand miles from the eastern boundary line of Europe. No government other than that of Spain has claimed or does now claim any interest or right in these Spanish islands.

What the Constitution of the United States prohibits, that we must not do without first amending that instrument, but what the Constitution does not prohibit, the people of the United States may do if they so desire and have the power. On this subject the power of the people has not been limited by anything they have said or done. The Constitution prescribes a form of government and contains grants and limitations of power, but it does not define or limit the war power beyond the declaration of war. When war is once begun, it is to be conducted and terminated according to the rules of war, and these are regulated by an international code. The Constitution prescribes a form of government, not a rule of action in adjusting terms of peace with a nation that we have defeated in war. And in doubtful cases the Constitution always gracefully yields to the popular will. This war was not begun for conquest, but Dewey's guns awakened the world, and with the destruction of Montojo's fleet at Manila, Spanish power in the Philippines was ended, and American seamen were left in charge.

The argument that we have no right to the islands is answered by the statement that our right is at least as good as that of Spain, and now that Spain has ceded to us the whole group, the only question left worth considering is, whether it will be better for the people there and for the advancement of Christian civilization and popular government that we retain possession of the islands and hold them in trust for the people, or that we shall withdraw and thus leave the inhabitants a prey to ambitious leaders, subject at any time to invasion, pillage and conquest from the outside.

Porto Rico is held by us without conditions, and that, too, with the hearty approval of all the people of the United States; yet this was not contemplated in the beginning. The island is not taken as indemnity, it is held without assignment of reasons. And, pray, what argument in favor of our taking and holding Porto Rico will not apply with equal force to the case of Luzon and

the rest of the Philippines ? The Porto Ricans were not in rebellion against Spanish rule—they rather liked it; they had not asked us for sympathy or assistance, nor had they appealed to us for provisions to feed their starving poor. Why, then, should we take that island if we may not also take Luzon ? And if we may take Luzon, why not another, and another, until we have relieved Spain of all further responsibility as sovereign in that part of the world ?

If it be asked by what right or authority we shall undertake the task of temporary government in the Philippines, we may cite the power that led us conquering from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate. In the colonization of North America by European powers, if we except Spain, the object was not conquest; it was trade. The British navigation act was passed, within thirty years after settlement was actually begun by the colony at Massachusetts Bay. Though not undertaken for conquest, the settlement and ownership of the continent by white people is now complete. The Indian has ceased to be a factor. Can anybody imagine how it could have been otherwise ? And is not such the history of civilization—the weaker giving way to the stronger—survival of the fittest ? First, the explorer and the missionary, then the trapper and hunter, then the settler, and afterwards government, which is the beginning of dominion. And, dear reader, have you ever thought about how many such worlds as this would be required to support 1,500,000,000 savages who need a thousand acres of land apiece to live on, while the enlightened citizen needs but one ? God must have intended that savage life and customs should yield to higher standards of living, or he would have made the earth many times larger.

The right of migration, if it be a right, justifies the planting of colonies, and all that follows must be regarded as matters of course. The theory which excuses the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth covers the whole ground. The Puritans began their work on shipboard by agreeing among themselves to form a colony and abide by such rules and regulations for their conduct and government as should be deemed necessary for the general good. They took no thought of the Indian or his welfare, though they asked God's blessing on themselves. Their arrangements were made for their own safety and happiness, and not for the comfort or convenience of the Indians. Their intercourse

with the red men was commercial. Trade with the savage conquered him.

Who denies the missionary's right to go to the heathen's territory and conquer him by telling of the Prince of Peace and His Kingdom? And who would stay the Government's arm when raised to protect a preacher from the savage's assault? If the preacher may go where he will and teach a new and better doctrine, why may not his Christian neighbors and followers, the farmer, merchant and mechanic, go also? Why may not the man that carries the Bible be accompanied by others carrying plows, planes, anvils, looms and steam engines? Our missionaries went to the Sandwich Islands in 1820; five years later the Ten Commandments were adopted as the laws of the people, and now the islands form the American Territory of Hawaii.

Preparatory government in the Philippine Islands will be no more difficult or dangerous than it was in territories of the United States, and there has not been a day in this country, within a hundred and fifty years, when there was any halt in our progress or any doubt about our final success. Our experience has been a school in the arts of conquering savages without exterminating them by war. Occupation and settlement of this country has produced a class of brave, big-hearted men and women, fit for any emergency. We now have men by the thousand who graduated on the frontier, and who could take up the thread of government among a semi-barbarous people as readily as they would lay out a town site or grade a railway line. Developing, constructing, trading, improving, are our special lines of work. We could throw an army of civilizers into the Eastern Pacific regions as easily as we can send an army of soldiers to Cuba.

Legitimate trade the world over must some time be free—absolutely free—and that condition will come when commerce reaches all parts of the earth, and the religion of good will is everywhere established. Nothing now would add greater momentum to the movement in that direction than the building of a republic by Americans, after the American model, in the Philippine Archipelago, for it would tend to multiply trade marts among the nations, it would encourage the project to merge war into peace, it would raise the standard of international law and lift the world's politics to a higher level.

W. A. PEPPER.